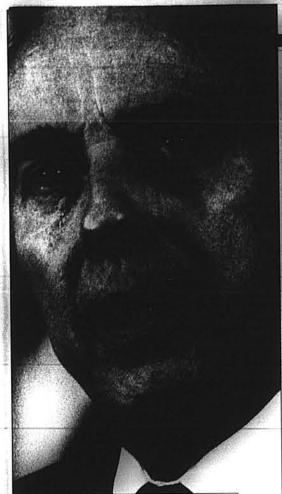
## 340. 1988





up and Robertson stuns the establishment



Who represents the far right? Kemp protesting a Robertson 'smea

supporters turned out statewide and the Bush campaign was swamped. What made Robertson's showing all the more impressive was the fact that the turnout for the Republican caucuses set an Iowa record-and what gave pause to politicians of both parties was the fact that Robertson's total was higher than that of any single Democrat.

What did Bush in, similarthe front-runner blahs-early overconfidence, shallow support from unenthusiastic mainstream Republicans and a candidacy that seemed based on

some vague presumption of inevitability rather than any cogent appeal to the voters. Trailing Dole among Iowa voters for months, he failed to mount the sort of focused and energetic stretch drive that might have prevented the wholesale erosion of his support on caucus night. His own staff was deeply divided over tactics. The field staff wanted Bush to run the kind of hands-on, informal campaign that worked so well in 1980, when Bush upset Ronald Reagan in Iowa. But the vice presidential staff and the Secret Service kept the candidate insulated from the voters. After Christmas, aware that Bush was losing ground, his handlers opted for a belated get-tough strategy that may have backfired. Bush's confrontation with CBS anchor Dan Rather, along with a campaign press release attacking Dole, seem to have made Bush look desperate and meanqualities that hardly endeared him to lo-

wa's high-minded voters.

his defeat by pointing out that Reagan, too, had been beaten in Iowa and had gone on to win the nomination. In fact, the Bush debacle had been far worse-and, as if to prove the point, his campaign last week began a massive midcourse correction. The national staff decamped for New Hampshire en masse, the basic stump speech was wholly revised and Bush himself came down from his vice presidential pedestal in an attempt to make better contact with the voters. The first results were less than impressive. Bush tried and failed to make a joke of ly, was a classic example of stealing Dole's successful line in Iowa-"I'm one of you"—and gave it up after only a day. He confessed his inability to make "eloquent statements of belief," asking his audiences not to confuse his habitual reserve with "lack of passion" about America. And he flattered the cantankerous New Hampshire electorate. When he takes the oath of presidential office in 1989. Bush said, he will be thinking just four words to

himself: "Thank you, New Hampshire." Steady erosion: The results of Bush's humble-pie approach were hard to detect. Bush, who once held a commanding, 20-point advantage in New Hampshire, saw his support among Republican voters slip steadily through the week-and at the weekend. network tracking polls showed that he was beginning to fall behind Dole. The trend suggested a second Dole victory, with potentially disastrous consequences for Bush. Bush's campaign ads, meanwhile, continued to stress his apprenticeship to Ronald Reagan as his major qualification for the presidency. One TV commercial showed Bush with Reagan and ended with the line "George Bush-prepared from day one to be president." "They don't get it." a Dole strategist said. "That In the aftermath, Bush tried to shrug off ad says, 'I'm entitled to the job.' That's

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just what the voters of lowa rejected The Bush campaign was sort of an imperial candidacy." Dole said last week "I don't think you can change that in the last three days." He may be right. Buoyed by his success in Iowa. Dole continued to bang away at what he and his advisers see as the strongest point of his candidacy-his image as a tough, decisive leader, especially when compared with Bush At the weekend, with both campaigns pinned down by snow, Dole's I'm-a-better-leader theme got

pointed reinforcement from Alexander Haig, the first casualty of the Republican campaign Hopelessly behind after winning less than I percent in Iowa, Haig dropped out of the race and endorsed Dole "From my point of view," Haig said, "Bob Dole is head and shoulders above George Bush as a potential president."

The Bush campaign's new slogan, cynics in the national press corps joked, was "Win Big or Die"-but that wisecrack, a play on the New Hampshire state motto, could ap-

ply almost equally to Dole Despite his recent gains in the polls and his long career in Republican politics. Dole has yet to define himself in the eyes of many Republican voters Is he the sharp-tongued hatchet man of the 1976 campaign, or is he now a wiser and more likable man." Does he have a broad vision of the nation's needs, or is his message only an updated version of the traditional Republican gospel of austerity and hard choices? From a tactical standpoint, both he and Bush are in at least some

## **Dole: A Lone Wolf**

Can this sometimes-brilliant, but often aloof operator pull a team together?

By Margaret Garrard Warner

Darkness was falling as Bob Dole's motorcade sped toward a Nashua, N.H., Republican dinner. George Bush had at first declined and then, after his Iowa loss, agreed to attend and now was to be given the coveted final speaking slot among the six candidates. Dole, in annovance, made it clear he felt his staff had failed him. "I want to know how it happened, why it happened and what we're going to do about it," he demanded. Dole's chief New Hampshire strategist, 42-year-old Concord lawyer Tom Rath, just stared at him. You shouldn't be worrying about things like that," Rath said. "You may be the next president of the United States, and you're going to have to start acting like one." Dole, startled by the challenge from an adviser, gave a pained smile and sub-

ne episode with Rath was pure Dole. It revealed the senator's compulsive need to control every detail of his political life and his often icy, peremptory manner toward those around him. These traits haven't inhibited his success as a legislator. But Dole's operating style has already hampered his campaignand could create problems for a Dole presidency. Dole is struggling to overcome these limitations, but it won't be easy. For one thing he must resolve a career-long paradox: Dole hires bright and aggressive people, and is so demanding of them that they once nicknamed him the Aya-Dole-Ah behind his back. Yet, the aloof and acerbic Dole mistrusts anyone's judgment but his own. "If

leave, he really helps you, but while you're on his staff, it's as if he's saying to himself, 'If this guy's so good, why is he working for me?"" said Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Armi-

tage, a former Dole assistant. Why is Dole the way he is? A war injury that left him with a withered right arm-he must rely on others to cut his meatmade him despise dependency of any kind. And some associates point to his frightful treatment in a veterans' hospital after the war, when doctors let his muscles atrophy for six months without treatment or exercise. That experience bred in him, these associates say, a deep mistrust of others' judgment. "The last time he trusted someone with his life," said a former top aide, "it nearly

killed him. On Capitol Hill, where there are many different legislative styles, Dole is a brilliant independent operator. He has su-

perb political instincts and legendary vote-counting abilities. Soaring solos are possible on the Hill, where legislators can pick their shots. But the demands and drudgery of day-to-day management are something else again. And so far Dole has not demonstrated the executive talents necessary to run a successful campaign—or the presidency.

Interviews with more than two dozen current and former staffers reveal a lot about Dole's executive skills-and his temperament. Dole demands the best from subordinates, then often undercuts



'He puts you in the deep freeze': The senator

and second-guesses them. He will make a deal with a fellow senator, and let his staff learn about it from the other senator's aides. After 27 years Dole still insists on reviewing all press releases and form letters leaving his Senate office, frequently rewriting a phrase or slapping on a new headline. He operates as is own chief of staff, dealing with a half dozen senior aides directly, making the ultimate decision himself on everything from negotiating strategy to scheduling "Until he gets involved in something, nothing happens," said another former

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you're good, he wants you, and after you

danger of hitting the federally mandated spending limit for a primary campaign, \$27 million before the Republican contest is over both will have spent more than half of the allowable total by the end of February). And Dole, unlike Bush and Robertson, has little organization in place for the hig push. to Super Tuesday, March 8, when 17 states

hold GOP contests. Robertson's guerrilla army will have road to Super Tuesday. He will probably do dawns. The key to Robertson's strength in

well, for example, in the Minnesota caucuses on Feb. 23, and he is working hard in Maine, which holds its GOP caucuses Feb. 26 to 28. He has already predicted victory in South Carolina, three days before Super Tuesday, and the South Carolina primary now shapes up as a key test of strength between Robertson and Bush. Bush's campaign manager, Lee Atwater, is a South Carolinian; if Bush fails there, Robertson

the South may well be crossover Democrats: along with South Carolina, seven of the Republican primary states on Super Tuesday permit crossover voting. For the moment, at least, the Dole campaign hopes that Robertson will cut into Bush's strength across the South. But Dole's advisers like almost all mainstream Re publicans, are casting a wary eye on Robertson's disruptive potential. If it is many opportunities for ambush on the will be riding high when Super Tuesday true that the Robertson candidacy has a



Momories of war: Veterans who served with Dole in Italy where he was wounded

aide. Periodically there has been deep | tract top talent drawn by the excitement dissatisfaction on the staff and Dole has tried to deal with it in his own way. "Make my office happy. They're unhappy," he But most of the time he is impatient with management concerns. When Chris Bolton, a top aide, grumbled about the turf battles fracturing the staff, Dole replied, "What are you complaining about? [You're a survivor."

Like servants: Staffers think he is simply oblivious to their concerns. One former and one current staff member used precisely the same words to describe Dole's attitude toward his staff. The senator, they said, treats subordinates "the way the newly rich treat servants." Dole is swift to dismiss those he considers incompetent. "If a staff member doesn't measure up to his standard, they are quickly gone," says Jo-Anne Coe, Dole's longtime senior political adviser. But he is sparing with his praise and thanks for those who do make the grade. When displeased, he cuts the offending aide off for a time. "He puts you in the deep freeze," said one former staffer. "It's mid-August and you're walking around Washington in

mittens and a mufller." Dole's staffers see flashes of his charm and legendary wit. But for the most part, said one, "he reserves that effort for those outside the family." Dole is a tough,

Stanley Hilton, author of an upcoming

unauthorized biography of Dole. Dole's wintry demeanor does not inputting him in a bad mood," said a former you play the yes man." But some subal- in this campaign-candidate and camterns seem almost in awe of Dole's judg- paign manager. You can have one.' ment. When Coe, who's been with Dole 21 years, was asked what she did if she | will grow, that he can adjust his temperthought he was making a mistake, "I ament and style to accommodate the don't think there ever was such a time,"

high-powered finance-committee aides to guide him through the arcana of tax but in the same breath defended his policy. But the authority of the group, need for tight control. "You stay out of tightly restricted. "They were on a short leash," says a former Reagan official. staff, 'If I goof up, they're not going to Dole's most trusted senior aides tend to | blame you, they're going to blame me'. resemble him. A Dole staffer described Dole was suggesting that whether he Lighthizer—a possible White House wins or loses he's going to do it his way—chief of staff if Dole becomes president—and only his way

natural "ceiling," as some skeptics believe. as "a cold, aggressive producer, like the

boss." Another aide described the tough-

minded Coe as "Bob Dole in an Ultra-

At the campaign office, Dole is now on his third wave of managers. Despite his stunning success in Iowa, staffers still joke about "the C-word"-chaos. Dole partisans welcomed the arrival in November of the newest campaign manager, Bill Brock, because the former labor secretary and Republican National Committee chairman was seen as a strong figure whose judgment Dole would respect. "We can shout at each other because we're peers," Brock said. But early on, Brock learned what it was like to be undercut. After negotiating for days of working for such an activist senator. with the White House about just when He likes subordinates to present ideas and how Dole would endorse the presisuccinctly, in brief memos if possible. He dent's proposed intermediate-range misreplies quickly, and decisively, with a sile treaty, Brock got a call from a scrawled "Yes," "No" or "Need more." stunned Reagan aide. The aide had just Staffers who want to ask him something | heard about a Dole speech charging that learn to catch the busy senator on the the administration had managed to fly. "There's an elusiveness about him, a "stuff the INF agreement down the hit-and-run quality," said former aide throatof NATO." An embarrassed Brock was equally surprised. "Using the words 'Dole' and 'management' in the same sentence is an oxymoron," lamented a vite challenges from his staff. "You risk | Dole admirer familiar with the incident. Dismayed by Dole's continued urge to aide. Campaign press secretary Mari Macall all the shots in the campaign, Brock seng insists Dole "doesn't respect you if at one point told him: "There are two jobs

His way: Dole's admirers insist that he campaign and, if he wins the White House, the presidency. In an interview Dole in the late 1970s did hire a group of last week with NEWSWEEK, Dole said he headed by lawyer Robert Lighthizer, was trouble that way," he said. "I think my instincts are good. I keep telling my

no one knows how high the ceiling may be Last week, at least, Robertson was locked in a three-way battle for third place in the New Hampshire primary with Rep. Jack Kemp and former Delawage governor Pete du Pont. He was also on the defensive, after Kemp charged publicly that Robertson supporters had launched a smear campaign to suggest that Kemp was soft on pornography and that his daughter had had an abortion. Although the Robertson campaign said it would investigate, press secretary Constance Snapp admitted that literature containing the charges against Kemp had been distributed by someone involved in the Robertson campaign. But with Robertson moving up in the polls, the real question was whether Kemp's outburst would make a difference to New Hampshire voters. "We've got to finish first or second here," a Kemp adviser said,

Foreign competition: The GOP's deepening divisions had Democrats laughing—though in truth, the Democratic presidential campaign was off to a notably soggy start. With no front runner, the Iowa Democratic caucuses produced a narrow win for Rep. Richard Gephardt, who played on blue-collar voters' fears of foreign competition with tough talk of protectionism. In New Hampshire, however, most polls showed Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis holding a strong lead over Gephardt and Sen. Paul Simon of Illinois-which suggested that the first two contests of the Democratic campaign would do little to resolve the shapeless scramble for the 1988 nomination except winnow out the bottom-

tier candidates. The prospects for the coming weeks are hardly more inspiring. Assuming Dukakis, Gephardt and Simon survive, the Demo cratic race will still be a game of musical chairs among five roughly equal candidates-the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee, who chose to ignore the Iowa caucuses, are basing their strategies on Super Tuesday. Jackson, who more than doubled his 1984 showing in the Iowa caucuses, may yet win the most delegates on Super Tuesday; Gore, who is raising big money among Southern moderates, currently figures to run second. The outlook, in short, is that no front runner will emerge until the big industrial-state primaries in Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania following Super Tuesday. As a result, the Democrats may be even more likely than the Republicans to stage a brawl at the 1988 convention-but if an orderly nominating process is the key to victory in November, both parties have much to fear and much to do.

TOM MORGANTHAU with
HOWARD FINEMAN in New Humpshire
ANN M. DANIES SAFETH Buds surprises
MARIA ALLE CALLED WAS ARREST SAFETH
Campaign and JOHN M. CORMICK in Inna